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NATIONAL PROHIBITION PARTY.

AN ADEQUATE REMEDY

— FOR —

A National Evil;

— OR, A —

Vindication of the National Prohibition Party,

BY THE REV. JOHN RUSSELL.

— ALSO THE —

PLATFORM OF THE PROHIBITION PARTY.

DETROIT:

THE NEW WORLD BOOK AND JOB PRINT.

1872.

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— ADOPTED BY THE —

NATIONAL CONVENTION, AT COLUMBUS, OHIO,

*February 22, 1872.*

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# An Adequate Remedy for a National Evil;

— OR, A —

## VINDICATION OF THE NATIONAL PROHIBITION PARTY.



BY THE REV. JOHN RUSSELL.



**I**t is beyond a reasonable doubt that intemperance in the use of intoxicating liquors is pre-eminently the crime, the curse and the shame of this nation. Not that we are more drunken than some other nations, or that we as a people have no other vices. But this is the darkest stain upon our Christian civilization, and the chief hindrance to our social and financial prosperity. It may be justly charged, that we are a nation of drunkard-makers; that the laws of the country and the administration of the government are in the interests of the liquor traffic. In the very Territory occupied by the Federal Capitol, and under the control of its laws, the business is legalized. By our system of internal revenue, 150,000 grog-shops pay tribute to the government, and receive, as a consideration, its legal and moral support, taxing the people, annually, over \$600,000,000 for the hurtful beverages consumed. To say the very least, the national government has thus far signally failed to exert its full power against a business which causes directly or indirectly not less than three-fourths of the crimes and pauperism of the country; a branch of trade in justification of which no one law of morals or of political economy can be offered. Therefore, if ours is a government by the people, and the people are responsible for the character of the laws, customs and institutions of the country, then the people of these United States are guilty of allowing the greatest public nuisance of the age to go unabated. Most truthfully has Hon. Henry Wilson said of this business (in the *N. Y. Independent*, March 24th, 1870.) "There is to day a larger army under its control than



went to the war, while those mourning over the vassalage and fall of loved ones exceed in numbers and in the bitterness of their woe the millions who were made childless and widows by the casualties of that fierce and sanguinary strife. And the terrible disease, like a cancer, is eating into the very vitals of the nation, destroying the mental and moral, as well as the physical fiber of the people. *The liquor interest controls the cities and largely influences state legislation and the local politics of the country.* And all this has come to pass notwithstanding the temperance efforts of half a century, the preaching of the sanctuary, the presence and power of the Christian church."

The more philanthropic among us have long seen and deplored the evil in question. Appropriate remedies have also been sought and used to great advantage. Science and religion have thrown their blended rays into the labyrinths of error, dispelling the intellectual and moral night which had so long brooded over this fated region. Marked changes in public sentiment and in the drinking usages of society have resulted, and total abstinence from all intoxicating beverages has become the rule of personal duty among the more religious and moral classes.

But the progress of reform is a close imitation of Nature—there is "first the blade, then the ear, and after that the full corn in the ear." Or, like the seasons; there is a winter of necessity, the spring or seed-time of primary discussion, the summer of growth, and the autumn of maturity. The philosophy of this movement and the conditions of success have come to be much better understood than formerly. Once the drunkard alone was blamed. Now the vender, the consumer and the indifferent looker-on, are understood to share the guilt.

Practically, the work is in two parts only; the moral and the political. To the first belong the reformation of the inebriate and the general education of society on the question of temperance, in the use of all the means known to an enlightened philanthropy. The second involves the duty of *effectively prohibiting, by law, the manufacture, importation and sale of all intoxicating liquors to be used as a beverage.* The part last mentioned, is emphatically *the duty of to-day!* Not that the ordinary accredited moral agencies should be superseded or neglected. Between these two branches of the same great enterprise there can be no *real* antagonism; but in the words of Bishop Butler on another subject, "they do very much grow up into the same thing," They are co-ordinate

and equally necessary parts of the temperance reform, the moral portion sustaining the antecedent relation. Only ill-informed or evil-minded people will attempt to array them against each other. Arguments and efforts for prohibition logically connect with all other branches of temperance work, and by presenting this before the public as the main issue, the whole question is brought into legitimate and profitable debate.

The public traffic in liquors sustains the relation of an efficient cause to drunkenness and all its direful concomitants. The dram-shop is the chief counteracting force of all temperance efforts. It both creates the evil demand, and furnishes the vile supply, by inviting and fostering the drinking usages of society. Intrenched in this stronghold, the enemy is invulnerable to all ordinary modes of attack; he "laughs at the shaking of our moral spear." This *center* must be broken therefore, before the Grand Army of Reform can resume its triumphant march. Here, then, is the main point of attack. But, *how* shall effective prohibition of the liquor traffic be secured as a national blessing? The true answer is; by giving united and continued moral and political support to the National Prohibition Party. The correctness of this answer will appear from the following considerations:

1. Prohibition is a political measure, and requires for its accomplishment the ordinary agencies employed in securing results of such nature and magnitude. The office of wisdom is to *adapt* means to the accomplishment of laudable ends. It is therefore unwise for temperance people to treat prohibition as a moral question only. Laws are not enacted and executed by churches or moral reform societies; but through the machinery of civil government, manipulated by political parties. The fact that the right to prohibit the liquor traffic was first seen by discussing temperance as a moral question, has, unfortunately, associated it in many honest minds with a class of subjects which are usually deemed out of place in the arena of party politics. This radical error should be speedily corrected. Prohibition is strictly a political measure, demanded by strong moral and economical considerations. Hence, to expect effective prohibition without the aid of a party, is to expect results without the use of appropriate means.

2. The enemies of prohibition are, *de facto*, a party, united by the bonds of interest in the liquor traffic—a balance of power party, controlling both Democrats and Republicans. The Beer Brewers' Congress declare to "support no man for

any office who is not opposed to all temperance and all Sunday laws." And it is well known, that they do cross and recross the lines of the two old parties as occasion requires, for the consummation of their purposes. Both the Democratic and Republican parties are therefore virtually controlled, in all movements relating to this question, by the liquor-loving element within them.

3. Prohibition is a question upon which citizens and parties must divide. Prohibitionists and anti-prohibitionists are equally determined, with no compromise ground upon which to meet. License and prohibition are diametrically opposed to each other. Consequently, the policy of the two old parties is to ignore this question as far as possible—to give temperance people just legislation enough to pacify them, and to keep liquor dealers quiet by *not executing* the imperfect statutes enacted against their business. This divided, tampering policy is, and must necessarily be, fruitless of good results; on the contrary it disappoints hope, confuses the public mind, and exhausts the patience of honest laborers in the cause of reform.

The question, therefore, can neither be managed independently of parties, nor can either one of the old parties accept it as a distinct issue. The anti-prohibitionists among the Democrats are doubtless in the majority, and with the Republicans the minority is large enough to defeat the party should they withdraw, which they would do in case the majority should accept of prohibition as a party measure.

The reason of this difficulty is, the question not having been adopted by either party at the time of its organization, the antagonistic elements cannot now be harmonized. From the nature of the case, the same difficulties must beset all questions of much importance upon which members of the same party are irreconcilably divided. A new organization is the only alternative.

The National Prohibition Party was organized at Chicago, Ill., on the 2d of September, 1869, by the adoption of a platform declaring for absolute prohibition of the traffic in intoxicating drinks, both by State and National legislation, and by appointing a Central Committee. This Committee, in due time, issued a call for a second National Convention, which adopted the platform and made the nominations, given in another part of this pamphlet.

Against the support of this party the following objections are urged:



1. "It is impracticable to build up a successful political party on a single issue."

This objection falsely assumes that the Prohibition Party will seek to do nothing but suppress the liquor traffic. Its friends entertain no such narrow views of the proper functions of a party or of the government. But let all thoughtful people observe, that successful and useful parties never attach special importance to more than one question at the same time. The Republican party grew out of opposition to slavery alone ; and the liquor traffic is a greater evil, and equally deserves the combined opposition of all virtuous and intelligent citizens. Nevertheless, we appeal with an honest, patriotic pride to the breadth and soundness of our National Platform. Our doctrines of suffrage, of civil service reform, etc., etc., are not only correct, but are in advance of what other parties have dared to propose. With one paramount, distinguishing issue, PROHIBITION, and several other new and useful ones, our party deserves the earnest support of all progressive minds in the country.

2. "Temperance is a moral question, and you cannot organize a successful party on a moral issue."

*Temperance* is indeed a moral question, but, as we have before shown, PROHIBITION is properly a political question ; and there is no necessity for confusing the public mind by confounding temperance as a *moral* virtue with prohibition as a *legal* measure. Those who do so betray either ignorance or insincerity. It appertains to government, to regulate commerce, to abate nuisances, to correct and punish offenders against the public peace, and to protect the persons, property and reputation of citizens. The Liquor Trade is an illegitimate branch of American Commerce, and the Law should so declare it. Liquor venders should be treated as felons, and the grog-shop should be abated as a public nuisance. And to accomplish these ends, the Legislative, Executive and Judicial departments of government must be in the hands of those favorable to such measures. "But it is after all a moral question, it is said, as its main object is to promote morality among the people." Well be it so. Are the times upon which we have fallen so evil as to completely change the customs of the Fathers in this respect? Is modern political science entirely divorced from religion and morality? If so, it is certainly time for us to revise our lexicons, or else re-examine our Bibles and our hearts. We have been wont to learn from Webster, that the primary meaning of politics is, "The science of government ; *that part of ethics* which has to do

with the regulation and government of a nation or State, the preservation of its safety, peace and prosperity ; the defense of its existence and rights against foreign control or conquest, the augmentation of its strength and resources, and the protection of its citizens in their rights, *with the preservation and improvement of their morals.*" Now, in all sincerity, we ask intelligent American citizens, if the suppression of the traffic in intoxicating drinks would not tend to the results indicated in the above lucid definition of that much-abused word politics ? And if the Prohibition party, therefore, has not special claims to the support of every true friend of religion and morality in the country ?

3. "The movement may be right enough in principle, but it is premature ; the public mind is not ready for it yet."

The public mind is much like the individual mind, it needs to be exercised upon a subject in order to a right understanding of it ; and by the time the right-minded people come to see the relations of a separate party to the question at issue, they will be ready to adopt both the organization and the political doctrine it seeks to establish. But in the nature of things, those interested in seeking and holding the offices conferred by old parties are never ready for a new one until it is made ready for them. Then, the most effectual way of educating the masses on this or any similar question is to put the politicians of the country to discussing it, which can only be done successfully in the manner here proposed. Those, therefore, who are so urgent in their demands for a "better public sentiment" will find this the *better* way of obtaining it.

But public sentiment on this question is far in advance of our public agencies for rendering it available. Thousands upon thousands of good people throughout the country would gladly favor prohibitory legislation if the government would only execute the laws, or if such laws could be enacted and enforced without endangering the organic integrity of their political parties. But as this cannot be, they are restrained from expressing an honest opinion. We shall never get the full strength of public sentiment on this subject until we have the proper means of using it.

4. "But, it is better to try to get temperance men elected in the old parties than to undertake the difficult work of forming a new one on this distinct issue."

It is better still, never to ignore the philosophy of things nor the lessons of history. And it may be safely affirmed, that no man who has carefully studied these, and is not self-

ishly interested to preserve his old party relations, will urge the above objection. As a rule, officers elected by the vote of a particular party, are controlled in their action by whatever affects the integrity of that party; they can only be relied upon to carry out measures endorsed by the party which elects them. Hence the general failure to enforce laws designed to suppress the liquor traffic.

Hence also the pitiable legislative muddle with which the country is just now being humbugged in the form of "civil damage" laws, "high-license regulations," and the like. These specimens of modern "compromise" all originate either in an imperfect conception of the work to be accomplished, or in a desire to avoid a direct political issue, and a consequent reconstruction of political organizations as a necessary means to the end to be secured. Vain attempt; eternal principles are in the way of its success.

5. Republicans say: "To organize a prohibition party will result in defeating us and placing the Democrats in power."

That may prove a calamity to Republican office-holders, but not to the cause of prohibition; experience having shown that one party is no more reliable on this subject than the other. Believing as we do therefore, that there is no other question now before the people paramount or even tantamount to this one, it is a matter of utter indifference to us which of the two old parties survives or which one perishes. The present is a most auspicious time for inaugurating this new political movement. Right here, however, is the chief difficulty. While temperance men are deluded with the idea that there is a special reason for the existence of one of the old parties rather than the other, they will adhere to that party and oppose us. And as in all similar reform movements, just in proportion as people are able to rise superior to their prejudices, the new organization will gain strength.

As Prohibitionists we have no sympathy with either the Democratic or Republican party; the success of our principles will prove the death of them both, and the sooner the better for the country. As those parties are constituted, every vote cast in support of either of them, is a ballot for an open dram-shop; such logically, whether so intended or not.

6. "But admitting that other political organizations are corrupt, will not the prohibition party also become corrupt after it has obtained power?"

Now, suppose we admit that it will. There is then no force in the objection. Prohibitionists do not assume that

their party is necessary simply because others are corrupt, but because they are *organically disqualified* to handle the political issues which we make.

The vague charge of party corruption is almost the only stock in trade among a large class of politicians ; they seem to be incapable of any higher or more philosophic ideas of party politics. Political parties do not make spiritual regeneration, nor even any standard of moral excellence a test of membership. Peculation, venality and general corruption in office, are the almost invariable consequences of long-continued party power. But any party may be relied upon to consummate the clearly defined issue upon which it obtains its power. And we do not allege that other parties have proved failures in this respect ; only that they *have not*, and *now cannot* endorse our principles ; and having wrought out the issues to which they were committed, they now naturally gravitate to corruption.

If therefore the Prohibition Party, after accomplishing its work, shall follow the same general law of impotency and decay, then let it yield to the demands of a new and better era, and, as an effete organization, perish. But why remain in the midst of acknowledged corruption for fear that the instrument of a present reform may not remain pure forever ?

A single circumstance, however, deserves to be specially considered in this connection : The grog-shop being out of the way, all political organizations will be less exposed to corruption ; hence the party which removes this cess-pool of social depravity gives the best possible guarantee of its own future purity.

7. "To organize a political party on the issue of Prohibition, will tend to bring other forms of temperance efforts into disrepute, by arraying the political prejudices of the members of other parties against the whole movement."

It is undoubtedly true, that persons of strong political prejudices and of an illiberal cast of mind, will listen to a sermon or a lecture on the moral suasion view of the subject with less patience than they would if prohibition did not involve a party vote. So far as we know the persons who interpose this objection, they do not make it on their own account, but only from a prudent fear that somebody else, of less charity or possessing narrower views, will be hindered from rendering moral support to temperance, because of this separate party measure.

Observe, the objection does not affirm that prohibition is wrong, or that being right, it can be made successful with-



out separate party action. On the contrary, we have shown that prohibition is the outgrowth and necessary complement of moral means, and that political parties which are not committed to it, are unable or unwilling to execute a prohibitory law. The objection, therefore, plainly involves the logical inconsistency of abandoning an essential principle on the ground of expediency.

But if the principle and the means for securing its triumph are both valid, why may not this unfounded prejudice be finally overcome? Unquestionably it may. But how? Certainly not by timidly submitting to its blind dictation, but by candid, open discussion. Not by discussing abstract principles only, but indispensable agencies also. Do not anti-slavery men recollect a period when precisely the same objection was made to voting against slavery? Many were willing to work with the "Colonization Society," or in almost any other way except the right one. So all reforms, demanding the use of both moral and political means, must encounter substantially the same difficulty. So it was also twenty years ago with the principle of prohibition. It was then said "People will have nothing to do with temperance societies, if you are going to compel them by law not to drink liquor;" and some there are, even now, who either ignore or oppose the temperance reform on this account. But wise men should not be deterred from the use of appropriate means in the prosecution of laudable ends, merely because blockheads and political party wire-pullers will misjudge and misrepresent the motives of those who undertake to do a right thing in a right way.

As well say that ministers and other Christian men should not vote or act with any party, because they will thereby prejudice those of opposite parties against them. And some are weak enough to act upon this principle, and thereby bring upon themselves the contempt of sensible people. Some things are so eminently fit and right in themselves, that we cannot afford to forego the doing of them just because bigots will be displeased with us for acting up to our honest convictions of duty.

It will, indeed, test the moral courage of the clergy, and other public men, by compelling them to take sides for or against the measure, and thereby expose them to ridicule and patizan ostracism. But "blessed is the man that endureth temptation."

8. "But why not let the people of each State, or smaller



political division of the country manage the question as may seem to them best ; why organize a national party ?”

Simply because there is but one best and *only right* way for each and every part of the country to adopt—that is to prohibit, or at least aim at prohibiting, the traffic. “Local option” is local nonsense, as those who try it are destined to prove in the end. The evil is broadly and plainly national ; let our organization be co-extensive. We are one people ; our national and State politics intermingle ; we are accustomed to work through National parties. Then, as our platform affirms, both State and national legislation are necessary. Only Congress can interdict the importation of liquors from foreign countries and exclude it from the Territories. Let us therefore, rally around a national standard ; let the inspiring thought electrify the noble band of patriots and reformers in every part of our broad domain, that our common country shall at last be freed from the curse of the rum traffic. Let the whole land be girded with this hope ; it shall make us strong to labor and wait for the result. Let the banner of Prohibition be planted on every hill-top of our whisky-cursed country, as the prophetic sign of its ultimate redemption. From one end of the land to the other let our motto be ; Down with the grog-shops, and up with the law ! No more drunkards in office, no more legalized traffic in strong drinks. Let prayer, and faith, and works combine to usher in a national jubilee ; the slaves of the wine cup shall all be free, and sobriety shall rule in all the councils of our beloved country.

Then shall God, even our own God bless us, and the land shall yield her increase.



CANDIDATES AND PLATFORM  
OF THE  
NATIONAL PROHIBITION PARTY.

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The Central Committee appointed at the National Convention at Chicago, Illinois, September 2d, 1869, which Convention organized the National Prohibition party, issued a call to the "friends of the National Prohibition Party," to "assemble in National Convention, at the City of Columbus, Ohio, on the

22d DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1872,

at 11 o'clock, a. m., for the purpose of putting in nomination candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States, to be supported at the next ensuing national election; and of transacting such other business as the Convention, when assembled, shall deem advisable." They also said that "in view of the yet imperfectly organized condition of the party, it is thought better that the meeting should take the form of a Mass Convention rather than a delegated one."

In accordance with this call the First National Prohibition Convention, for the nomination of officers, convened at the Opera House, in the City of Columbus, Ohio, on Thursday, February 22, 1872. Fourteen States were represented, and about 300 names enrolled. The following are the nominations made, and platform adopted by the Convention:

*National Prohibition Ticket.*

For President of the United States,

JAMES BLACK, of Pennsylvania.

For Vice-President of the United States,

JOHN RUSSELL, of Michigan.

*Platform.*

WHEREAS, Protection and allegiance are reciprocal duties, and every citizen who yields obedience to the just commands of the government is entitled to the full, free and perfect protection of that government in all the enjoyment of personal security, personal liberty and private property; and

WHEREAS, The traffic in intoxicating drinks greatly impairs the personal security and personal liberty of a large mass of the citizens and renders private property insecure; and

WHEREAS, All other political parties are hopelessly unwilling to adopt an adequate policy on this question, therefore we, in National Convention assembled, as citizens of this free Republic, sharing in the duties and responsibilities of its government, in discharge of a solemn duty we owe to our country and our race, unite in the following declaration of principles:

1. That while we acknowledge the pure patriotism and profound statesmanship of those patriots who laid the foundations of this Government, securing at once the rights of the States, severally, and their inseparable union by the Federal Constitution, we would not merely garnish the sepulchers of our republican fathers; but we do hereby renew our solemn pledges of fealty to the imperishable principles of civil and religious liberty embodied in the Declaration of American Independence, and our Federal Constitution.

2. That the traffic in intoxicating beverages is a dishonor to Christian civilization, inimical to the best interests of society, a political wrong of unequaled enormity, subversive to the ordinary objects of government, not capable of being regulated or restrained by any system of license whatever; but imperatively demanding for its suppression, effective legal prohibition, both by State and National Legislation.

*Resolved*, That while we recognize the good Providence of Almighty God in supervising the interests of this Nation from its establishment to the present time, having organized our party for the Legal Prohibition of the liquor traffic, our reliance for ultimate success is upon the same Omnipotent Arm.

*Resolved*, That there can be no greater peril to the Nation than the existing party competition for the liquor vote; that any party not openly opposed to the traffic, experience shows, will engage in this competition; will court the favor of the criminal classes; will barter away the public morals, the purity of the ballot and every object of good government for party success.

*Resolved*, That while adopting national political measures for the prohibition of the liquor traffic, we will continue the use of all moral means in our power to persuade men away from the injurious practice of using intoxicating beverages.

*Resolved*, That we invite all persons, whether total abstainers or not, who recognize the terrible injuries inflicted by the liquor traffic, to unite with us for its overthrow, and to secure thereby peace, order and the protection of person and property.

#### PUBLIC SERVICE.

*Resolved*, That competency, honesty and sobriety, are indispensable qualifications for holding public office.

*Resolved*, That removals from public service for mere difference of political opinion is a practice opposed to sound policy and just principles.

*Resolved*, That fixed and moderate salaries should take the place of official fees and perquisites; the franking privilege, sinecures and all unnecessary offices and expenses should be abolished; and every possible means should be employed to prevent corruption and venality in office; and by a rigid system of accountability from all of its officers and guards over the public treasury, the utmost economy should be practiced and enforced in every department of the government.

*Resolved*, That we favor the election of President, Vice-President and United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

#### FINANCE AND COMMERCE.

*Resolved*, That we are in favor of a sound National Currency adequate to the demands of business and convertible into gold and silver at the will of the holder; and the adoption of every measure compatible with justice and the public safety, to appreciate our present currency to the gold standard.

*Resolved*, That the rate of inland and ocean postage, of telegraphic communications, of railroad and water transportation and travel, should be reduced to the lowest practical point by force of laws wisely and justly framed, with reference not only to the interests of capital employed, but to the higher claims of the general good.

#### LABOR AND REVENUE.

*Resolved*, That an adequate public revenue being necessary, it may properly be raised by impost duties and by an equitable assessment upon the property and legitimate business of the country; nevertheless we are opposed to any discrimination in favor of capital against labor, as well as all monopoly and class legislation.

*Resolved*, That the removal of the burdens, moral, physical, pecuniary and social, imposed by the traffic in intoxicating drinks, will, in our judgment, emancipate labor, and thus emphatically promote labor reform.

#### EDUCATION.

*Resolved*, That the fostering and extension of common schools under the care and support of the State, to supply the want of a general and liberal education, is a primary duty of good government.

#### SUFFRAGE.

*Resolved*, That the right of suffrage rests upon no mere circumstance of color, race, former social condition, sex or nationality, but inheres in the nature of man; and when, from any cause, it has been withheld from citizens of our country who are of suitable age and are mentally and morally qualified for the discharge of its duties, it should be speedily restored by the people in their sovereign capacity.

#### CITIZENS.

*Resolved*, That a liberal and just policy should be pursued to promote foreign immigration to our shores; always allowing to the naturalized citizens equal rights, privileges and protection under the constitution, with those who are native born.



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